1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

cheesecloth contraptions no more than 2 feet high under which human beings are sleeping half buried in the sand.

Approaching the river, we see canoes pulled up on the sands and discover that there is more debris close by, but its owners are not in sight. In the water close to the canoes are turtles with their hind legs tied to the front ones. Some of these are also fastened to the canoes, by means of strings which pass through holes drilled in their carapaces. They make fruitless efforts to move away whenever anyone comes near to them.

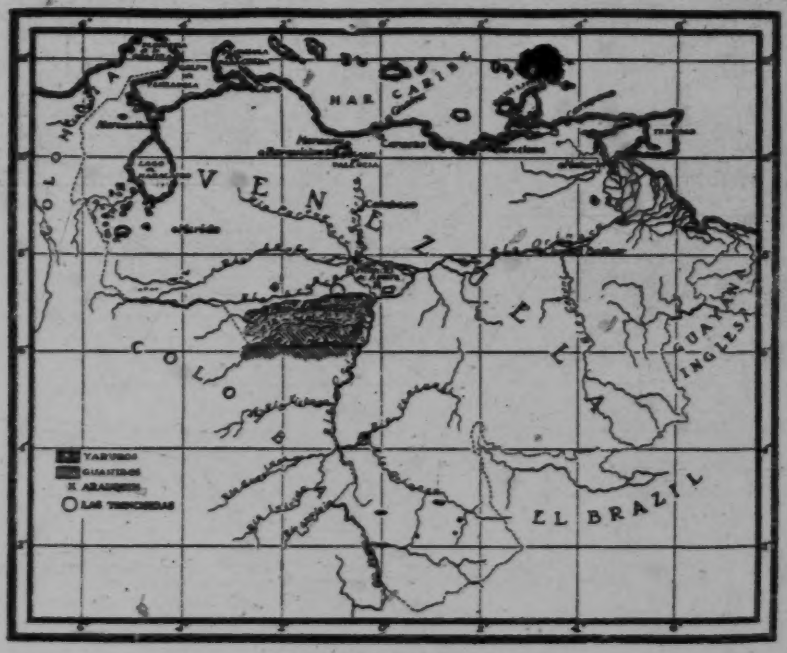

FIGURE 15.—Map of Venezuela.

It is not a large camp, and the sleepers do not number many. As we look around us they appear to be insignificant and lost in immense space, so distant and even is the horizon. Only to the east do we see a wall of shadow rising a little above the horizon. It is all that can be seen of the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco not far away. In the early morning light they look like mountains, though they are only a few hundred feet high.

The awakening of a Yaruro camp is quiet, almost surreptitious. As the grayness of the landscape gives place to bright orange-gold, some of the sleepers are up, squatting with their legs doubled under them. They face the west; they do not move, merely sit still watching

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

stop to talk, rest, and later sleep. Twenty-four hours of Yaruro life have gone by. The stomach must be considered again.

THE LLANOS

The country of the Yaruros is a low plain lying south and east of the Venezuelan Andean mountain spur between the fifth and sixth degree of North Parallel. On the east it is flanked by the Orinoco, with the hills of Guiana beyond the river, and on the south the plain rolls away to Colombia. This vast inland plain is burned by a tropical sun the year round and nowhere is there a degree of elevation to relieve one from the intense heat. Fortunately there is no barrier to the trade winds which often blow too hard for human comfort but which, nevertheless, make life bearable by cooling the body and blowing away insect life. During the dry season this plain is a veritable desert with scant vegetation except along the river banks and by water holes. In the rainy season it becomes a vast inland sea rich in animal and plant life. The temperatures during the day are always high. In the plains of Apure 130° F. have been recorded a few feet from the ground. In the middle of the day animal life is practically at a standstill. Cattle and horses which roam the plains half wild or completely so rest quietly. The cowboy withdraws to the shelter of a grass roof; the traveler retires to the shade of a bush, provided he can find one; but the Yaruro seeks the river banks where the winds are freshest and there is always the branch thrust in the sand to give him some shade. In midafternoon the winds abate somewhat, but rise again as the sun sets. There is another lull just before midnight, but in the early morning the wind blows a gale, driving the well-equipped traveler under his blankets and the Yaruros to the warmth of sand pits. Shelter from the wind means intolerable insect life. One must remain exposed to the ever-blowing wind to find any comfort.

It is said that a geologist prospecting unsuccessfully for oil ended his report with the statement, "The plains of Venezuela, or as they are known, the llanos, are rich—in water." He would have been more accurate had he said that the llanos are rich in winds, in dust and sand, insects, and, in the rainy season, flora and fauna.

The llanos would form a desert were it not for the rivers which, fed by the Andes, flow into the Orinoco. The largest of these are the Apure and the Meta. Between them flow the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco. Fishes are plentiful in these rivers. Along the banks are found an abundance of birds, among which ducks, cranes, and storks predominate. Smaller birds give color and song to the country. Near the Orinoco species of sandpipers crowd the sand bars. Hawks and vultures are a common sight.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

136 Bats are plentiful, but they tend to be most abundant in the forests and hills close to the Orinoco. Armies of them fly nightly out of the caves of Guiana to feed on the fruit of the forests in the plains. One evening while crossing back from Guiana to the llanos we saw a stream of bats flying across the river. They seemed to come from a cave about 2 miles away. Though we watched them flying overhead for about half an hour, there did not seem to be any end to them.

174 Formerly the llanos were peopled by a number of tribes who have since disappeared, leaving behind them practically no knowledge of their societies. Only the Yaruros and the Guahibos inhabiting the Meta region have survived to this day. The Tamanachi, the Guamos, the Otomacos, which are best but meagerly known, have died or been killed off in recent years. I saw the last Otomaco survivors, an old woman and a boy of five, who had been saved from a reputed massacre. The Achaguas seem to have disappeared in recent years also.

177 What has happened to these people can be easily understood when it is considered that during the past 25 years the worldwide unrest has driven adventurers to many corners of the earth, and these people have been exposed to the marauding "revolutionary" bands and to the equally destructive cupidity of the crocodile hunter and the rancher.

161 There are 150 Yaruros left in the region of the Capanaparo and
161 on an island at the mouth of that river called the Linda Bara. It is claimed that on the Sinaruco there are other bands but no contact was made with them. Formerly the Yaruros occupied a large territory and perhaps roamed the plains, as well as the rivers, but since the land has been taken up by the ranchers they have been forced to the river banks.

136 The animals of greatest interest to the Yaruros are: jaguar, puma, wild pigs, capibara (the chiguire), armadillo, snakes, jivaro stork, vultures, manatee, tonino, crocodiles, iguana.

137 Plant life has great importance as a source of food, usable wood,
222 medicines, and narcotics. The moriche and macanilla palms supply the Yaruros with fibers and bow wood. The chigua supplies him with flour; the changuango and barbaco with edible roots.

101 The Yaruros call themselves "Pumeh." In the literature they are referred to as "Saururi" (Gumilla), "Zavuri" (Gilii), and more recently as Jaruros, Sayuros, etc. According to my informants Yaruro or Jaruro, is a Guahibo word by which they are known to that people. The Guahibos are known to the Yaruros as "Tciricoa," "people of the forest." The word Pumeh has no exact translatable meaning. The closest equivalent is the Spanish "gente." When a Yaruro uses it he implies "the people," "the chosen people." Only the Yaruros are Pumeh, but the term occasionally includes other tribes. All non-

1: Petrullo E-S (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the universe, his understanding of life and death, of the history of his people and their future, of morality, and of justice. Likewise he was anxious to hear what message I had to bring from my people in respect to these things. So, sitting under the shelter of some branches, we talked. As we talked we both worked. Pablo Reyes kept his hands occupied making string, fixing bows and arrows, and I, when not busy writing, pretended to carve little figures out of wood. The children played about us and Pablo's three wives kept shyly in the background, though listening carefully to what we said and often throwing inquisitive glances in our direction.

Profiting by our proximity to Guiana, I decided to visit Urbana where I could buy some goods for my friends and at the same time gather information about archeology. The wind blew so hard it proved necessary to drag the canoe along the shore of the island until we found the best place for a crossing. The sand was raised in clouds and our bodies were peppered with it so that we were forced to cover up closely. It finally proved impossible to continue and we were forced to stop and camp in the open with our backs to the wind and no shelter except what we could get from our hammocks. But holding them up was as much a hardship as to be bombarded by sand. We made one attempt to cross the Orinoco in the afternoon but we were forced to give it up. Finally, late in the afternoon, putting our trust in "God and the Virgin," as the Venezuelan canoemen say, we launched the canoe and reached La Urbana about midnight. Our stay there was necessarily short and we hastened back to Linda Bara the following day, but I gathered enough from the examination of collections at the Salesian Mission to determine that the archeology on that side of the Orinoco is quite different from that of the llanos.

At sunset as we were approaching the island we saw an army of bats in flight. The bats were coming as a cloud out of a Guiana hill in the far distance, and flew directly over us, and across to the other shore of the river, disappearing into the forest. We watched this vast army for about 15 minutes and then continued on our way, not because we had seen the last of the bats, but because time was short. I was told by my guide that this daily flight of the bats from the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco generally lasts two hours. How many thousands of them live in this cave and fly daily to forage for food in the forest is a matter of conjecture. The bat, so plentiful in this region, seems to have inspired the ancient potters of the llanos to use the head as a motif of decoration.

When we reached Pablo Reyes the next day we found there several other Yaruro families, relatives of Pablo, encamped with him. We talked some more, then departed several days later in order to return to Landaeta, who proved to be my best informant.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

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In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

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In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

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The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

[825]

Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

136 225 262 [224] thought to be related to the race of mankind. On the other hand, the manatee is hunted occasionally. Birds are hunted but seldom, but the meat of the iguana is prized. This animal is not found in great quantities, however, in the open plains.

The vegetable diet is somewhat more plentiful and varied. There are no restrictions or taboos on what can be eaten. In the dry season it is the potato-like changuango, which is gathered by the women and which is to be seen broiling over the fires at all times, and which is the only food which the Yaruros are able to keep for a few days by burying it in the sand. In the rainy season it is the chigua seed and the barbaco which form the basic foods. The following list includes most of the foods eaten by the Yaruros:

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DRY SEASON

221 262 136 137 *Eggs.*—Terracai (small water turtle) (mostly in February), turtle (March, April), galapago (tortoise—December), crocodile (cayman—February), babu (December).

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire (capibara), birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Changuango (root found in the savanna), barbaco (root found in the forest, mostly in May), guapo (a root found in the forest), wild yam (found in the savanna and the forests), fruit of the macanilla palm, honey, hearts of palm (in April).

DRY AND RAINY SEASON

Fish.—(Local Spanish names) tapuara, caribe, toporo, tachiama, palumeta, pavon, cajani, temblador (electric eel).

RAINY SEASON

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire, birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Fruit of the moriche, chigua, barbaco.

PROPERTY

421 422 The Yaruros do not have much personal property. Nevertheless, what each person possesses is respected scrupulously. This attitude is especially in evidence when, for instance, a visitor attempts to purchase such a thing as a pot. In my case I was forced to ask the men. In spite of any price that I might offer they never allowed themselves to give any kind of an answer to my offer. Instead they offered the explanation that the pots were the property of the women and, therefore, they had to be asked if they wished to sell them. My own property I left in camp often without anyone to watch over it, but never did I miss even a sheet of paper.

222 the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging [412] stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [415] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or 824 for food-processing tools such as the tipiti, pots, or mortars and pestels. These [285] items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipi- [323] tis, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the forsging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [412] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

441 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gasipaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught [136] [224] by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

and then shooting into the still side pools of a stream into which he has driven a post with bait attached. He may also stand in a canoe to shoot. It is reported, though I have not myself seen it, that barbasco (*Jacquinia revoluta* or *mucronulata*) poison is used by some Yaruro.[12] No nets, weirs, traps, sweeps, or artificial fish pools are used.

Given the techniques and tools of the Yaruro, all the subsistence activities described can conveniently be done by one person. Some *must* be done by one person only, since the tools and techniques themselves do not permit two or more persons to operate jointly. As it were, the logic of the tools and techniques concerned demands utilization by single persons.[13] Some of the tools and techniques might conveniently involve two or more persons, e. g. lashing tree trunks together to make a fence or cornering a capybara, but do not definitively *require* more than one person. Activities of all sorts may be done by aggregates of persons, each utilizing his own tools and techniques individually but neither the activity, the tools nor the techniques entail the aggregation of individuals. Thus, from the point of view of human organization, the technology, by itself, entails no managerial functions, no coordination of tasks which must be overseen by someone occupying an appropriately defined status.[14] That is, there are no technologically determined positions of leadership in Yaruro society. Further, the technology as such entails no significant cooperation in work organization, even when this is convenient, and correspondingly, no standard work groups or management functions, as represented in some defined status, for facilitating cooperation are to be expected or to be found. In fact, Yaruro technology and resource distribution are such as to elicit considerable dispersion of activities and actors at any given time of work, and to inhibit the development of rank and the personal acquisition of superordinating prestige.

IV

We may now examine the habitat aspect of the ecological relationship. A clearly marked annual cycle occurs in the Yaruro habitat.[15] However, despite a sharp seasonal change from heavy rains up to 60 inches in one half of the year to almost

[12] Personal communication from Mr. Thomas Rootes who has studied Yaruro linguistics for a number of months, having visited several groups.

[13] Different kinds of tools require different kinds of organization. A simple hand saw can be used by only one person at a time. A logging saw, though it can awkwardly be used by one person, is surely best used by two persons. Certain other saws, e. g. jig saws, make up one of a series of machine processes on a single part of a product, the entire series being the unit of operation which requires a still more complex level of organization. Cf. Leeds, 1960 b.

[14] For the structure of argument which is involved here, see Leeds, 1960 b.

[15] 'Habitat' here refers to all physical objects and conditions of the environment which are relevant to the existence or production of resources as defined by the culture. For the most part, then, 'habitat' refers to those environmental conditions such as humidity, temperature, insolation, rainfall, etc., which affect the food supply, as well as the food and water available for animals and plants and other culturally relevant physical objects. By extension, it refers to daily, seasonal, annual, and long-term variations and cycles in the various relevant factors of the environment, whether climatic, geologic, or biotic, which affect any of these supplies.

132 desert-like conditions in the other, temperature, sun, soil, and water-table conditions
136 are such that plants will grow all year round, supplying a steady flow of vegetable
[137] foods to the people. The change of the water level in the rivers and in the water-table and the sharp increases and decreases of rain strongly affect the patterns of animal and plant life in the Yaruro environment. Annual cyclical variations in wind, humidity, and temperature are also quite marked. Plants and most especially animals, experience a kind of seasonal pulsation. As the rivers fill during the rainy season, the larger animals, such as the cayman, alligator, manatí, and dugong, move upstream to somewhat shallower waters, where their food supply is easier of access. Fish also move upstream and even up small brooks, where this is possible. If the savannas flood, many fish swim out into the savannas where numerous insects and other foods are now to be found. The insects themselves multiply and are distributed farther and farther back from the rivers as the rains progress and the savanna floods widen. Meanwhile, foraging animals move farther from the rivers and ponds, and range over greater distances as the rains and the elevated water-tables foster greater plant food resources. Insects in part follow the animals, in part the vegetation as it wakens to winter life in the interfluves. As the dry season begins to return, the reverse process takes place, and all life concentrates nearer and nearer the permanent waters such as the big rivers and some lakes, or at points where the land surface is near enough the permanent water-table to maintain some vegetation, notably the gallery forests and the woodlots, called *montes* in Spanish. Thus one may ideally describe a summer and a winter
221 organization of the habitat. The incidence of resources varies accordingly, and
132 consequently so do the technological activities and tasks to be done. In the dry season, there is a marked increase of gathering, particularly of roots and seeds which appear to store starches for dry season use in the wet season, whereas fruits appear mainly in the rainy season. Hunting increases in the dry season when animals are more highly concentrated in and near the rivers and tributary brooks and streams. Fishing also increases in the dry season as the waters become shallower, less grass-choked, and no longer laden with muds from upstream erosion which makes it impossible to see the fish. Garden production appears to decrease in summer as the dry season precludes growing some crops, such as pineapples, altogether, and
[249] reduces the possibility of growing sugar cane and corn.

221 Despite this marked seasonality, the habitat conditions of both seasons resemble
241 each other in certain formal respects vital to our argument.[10] First, at any given
132 moment of either season, from the point of view of work organization, the resources are what we may call dispersive. Thus, in mid-rainy season, swiddens are to be found dispersed along the streams and brooks flowing into the rivers and these adits are distributed irregularly over the land within a distance of 4—5 miles of the river. Even low slip-off slopes of the river may be used for growing sugar cane in the wet season, though they are too dry in the dry season. Game, such
[249] as tortoise, armadillo, deer, birds, and occasional other animals, are to be found
[136] throughout the savannas and about the river banks. Fish are found in most streams and in the rivers including those which have no useful banks for horticulture.

[10] Cf. Leeds, 1961, for further details and maps of the seasonal resource locations.

/11 cont./

O Y 775 776 way which leads to the other world it will meet after the village of the tiyo of Iţiai, at the left, on the same side, the tiyo of the Otomaco. They sang and danced (shamanistic ceremony) during the day when Kuma and Iţiai were still living on earth. When they ran off into the other world they continued to sing and dance but at night. During their songs they walked, the old men of past times used to say."

Y 533 539 Pedro Ramón Camacho completed his account with a quatrain of this song which had been repeated to him by a grandfather, but the meaning of which he did not know:

gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
pidęruba pidęruba pidęruba hihi
pidęruba pidęruba pidęruba hihi

Y 773 825 136 The Otomaco are presented in Yaruro legends as being in the beginning three animals: the mono (15), the araguato (16),

15. Monkey (Cebus nigrivittatus), in Venezuelan.

16. Howling monkey (Alouetta ursina), in Venezuelan.

and the chigüíre (17).

17. Capybara, large amphibious rodent (Hydrochoerus hydrochoeris), in Venezuelan.

Y 773 825 The transformation of the Otomaco into monos and araguatos seems to have occurred at the time of the flood unleashed by Iţiai to cleanse the world of all the moral disorder which reigned there. Some Otomaco took refuge in the trees

/11 cont./
out of reach of the waters, having refused to shelter themselves on an elevated knoll as Iɟiai ordered them to do. The latter, to punish them, condemned them and all their family to become "monos and araguatos who will eat henceforth," he told them, "leaves, fruit, chiga (18), etc...."

18. Chigo grain (Campsiandra comosa), from which the Yaruro apparently extract flour.

The origin of the chigüire is illustrated on its part by the text reproduced next:

1st version (literal translation)

"Once upon a time, when the Kuma still lived on earth, an old Otomaco pume (19). The Kuma had a little gourd

19. In Yaruro: man or Yaruro.

full of mosquitos (20) and plaga (21) and one day the Otomaco

20. Diurnal wounding gnats (Similium haemapotum Malloch), in Venezuelan.

21. Nocturnal mosquitoes, in Venezuelan.

asked her: "What is this, grandmother?" "No, son," she answered him, "do not try to uncork it because they are Iɟiai's sons. If you uncork it, /12/ the little beasts will eat you." The Otomaco, the old pume, was stubborn and in an inattentive moment of the Kuma uncorked the little receptacle near a river. In an instant he was covered with bites and threw himself into the water. Then Iɟiai said to him that for

Y /12 cont./
773 having been disobediant he was going to serve as food for the
825 pumę's and be transformed into chigüíre. In the same instant he was transformed into chigüíre."

2nd version (literal translation)

"The Kuma had a little receptacle filled with plaga and all kinds of zancudos (22). A pumę, the chigüíre, the

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[136]

22. Anopheles mosquitoes (Cellia argyritarsis), in Venezuelan.

Otomaco asked Kuma what kind of animal was in the receptacle. She answered that they were dangerous zancudos and that he must not open it because that would present danger. The Otomaco said: "I am going to open it." Then he opened the receptacle and thus the plaga came. If he had not opened it there would have been no plaga. When he had opened the receptacle, the mosquitoes began to bite him. The Otomaco threw himself into the water because he could not stand the bites and was transformed into chigüíre because he had disobeyed. Iţiai said to him: "You did not want to obey, you will be transformed into chigüíre which the pumę's will kill to feed upon." The bristles of the chigüíres are the zancudos. The present chigüíres are the sons of those who have disobeyed."

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131 Otomaco territory seems to have been situated north of that of the Yaruro, around the place where they supposedly were created: Los Caballos, near the Río Cunaviche. "All these dunes," Pedro Ramón Camacho said to us word for word, and at the same time his hand made a one-quarter turn of the horizon toward the north, "were once covered with Otomaco
O villages. The remains of pimpina (23), of plates, of
172
415
Y
173

23. A pitcher of porous earthenware used as a water-cooler in Venezuelan.

/12 cont./

budare (24), of tinaja (25), etc...which are found there are

24. Dish to cook flat manioc cakes, in Venezuelan.

25. Jar, in Venezuelan.

from the Otomaco women. But they often came this way--sometimes to dance or to buy canoes--to meet with the ancestors of the Yaruro of today. Like the former they were themselves good people. Yaruro and Otomaco each spoke in their dialect, which they mutually understood, which was not difficult. "Today," he added, "not a person remembers it."

Their relations must even have extended further, since they married among themselves without any obstacle /13/ placing itself in the way. Itiai in fact approved of these unions, as opposed to those with other Indians, the Piquero and Taparito included, Pedro Ramón Camacho specified, or with the Racionales, of which he disapproved.

They fed themselves, it appears, not only on fish, tortoise, deer, and vegetable produce grown in the conucos, but also on guiriguiri duck (26), a bird little in demand among the

26. Venezuelan name of the Dendrocygna automnalis.

present Indians because of the fishy taste of its meat. In addition, like the Yaruro, they appear to have lived in round huts built on the dunes, practiced a ball game, and made their pottery with the same technique and not with the aid of basketwork molds, contrary to what the remains with basketwork impressions which abound in the region where they apparently lived would lead us to suppose.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[11] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[11] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.